

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 BONN 07567 01 OF 03 251349 Z

41

ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 IO-03 MBFR-02 L-02 CIAE-00 INR-10

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R 251340 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5328

INFO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 07567

LIMDIS/ NOFORN

HELSINKI FOR MPT DEL; VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL; BERLIN FOR
AMBASSADOR

E. O. 11652: XGDS1

TAGS: PFOR, GW, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET COUNSELOR'S COMMENTS ON BREZHNEV VISIT

REF: A) BONN 7460; B) BONN 7452

1. SUMMARY: IN MEETING WITH EMBOFF MAY 24, SOVIET
POLITICAL COUNSELOR PROVIDED SOME SOVIET VIEWS OF
BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO BONN. IN PARTICULAR, HE COMMENTED
ON BERLIN, THE GDR- FRG RELATIONSHIP, EASTERN EUROPEAN
DEVELOPMENTS, UN ENTRY FOR THE TWO GERMAN STATES AND
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PAGE 02 BONN 07567 01 OF 03 251349 Z

CSCE. END SUMMARY.

2. BERLIN: AS REPORTED IN REFTELS, BERLIN WAS THE SUBJECT OF INTENSIVE DISCUSSION DURING THE VISIT, ACCORDING TO SOVIET REP WHO SAID THE GERMANS BEGAN BY BEING EXTREMELY AGGRESSIVE IN THEIR FORMULATIONS ON A PASSAGE CONCERNING BERLIN IN THE JOINT DECLARATION. THEY BACKED OFF, HOWEVER, WHEN THEY SAW HOW STRONGLY THE SOVIET SIDE FELT ON THE SUBJECT. BREZHNEV HIMSELF REFUSED TO GET INTO DETAILED DISCUSSIONS OF THE MATTER BY NOTING THAT THIS WAS A SUBJECT FOR GROMYKO TO HANDLE. THE SOVIETS CONSIDER THAT THEY HAVE RESERVED THEIR POSITION ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE BERLIN AGREEMENT WITH REGARD TO THE MAINTENANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF TIES. THEY THINK THE GERMANS ARE BEING FAR TOO DEMANDING IN THIS AREA. OUR SOURCE REMARKED SNIDELY THAT THE GERMANS EVEN WANTED TO HAVE A BERLIN CLAUSE IN A PROSPECTIVE AGREEMENT ON TRAFFIC ON THE HIGH SEAS. HE ALSO SAID THE CZECHS INFORMED THE SOVIETS DURING THE VISIT THAT THE GERMANS APPARENTLY WISH TO HAVE A BERLIN CLAUSE IN THE PROPOSED FRG- CZECHOSLOVAK TREATY NORMALIZING RELATIONS. THE SOVIET REP SAID THIS WAS OBVIOUSLY UNNECESSARY IN A DOCUMENT OF THAT SORT. HE SAID THAT IN GENERAL THE PRESS HAD TENDED TO OVERPLAY THE ENTIRE BERLIN MATTER AND HAD CERTAINLY MISINTERPRETED WHAT THE SOVIETS HAD AGREED TO IN THE JOINT DECLARATION. HE SAID THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOW SEE HOW THE GERMANS PROPOSED TO DEAL WITH WEST BERLIN IN THE VARIOUS BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AHEAD; THE SOVIETS WOULD THEN JUDGE JUST HOW REALISTIC THE GERMANS WOULD BE IN THE FUTURE.

3. GDR: THE SOVIET REP SAID THAT THE GERMAN SIDE HAD RAISED COMPLAINTS ABOUT GDR BEHAVIOR DURING THE VISIT. HE THOUGHT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAD UNDERSTOOD THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE FRG PROBLEM IN THIS RESPECT, AND WOULD UNDERTAKE TO "ADVISE" THE GDR TO BE MORE REASONABLE ON SOME PRACTICAL QUESTIONS. HE SAID THE SOVIET FEELING WAS THAT THE GDR SHOULD NOT CREATE SUCH SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES AS TO IMPEDE THE POSSIBLE PROGRESS IN CSCE AND MBFR, AND POSSIBLY EVEN TO CREATE DIFFICULTIES FOR THE UN ENTRY OF BOTH GERMAN STATES. HE WENT ON TO

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PAGE 03 BONN 07567

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PAGE 01 BONN 07567 02 OF 03 251351 Z

ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 IO-03 MBFR-02 L-02 CIAE-00 INR-10

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R 251340 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

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INFO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 07567

LIMDIS NOFORN

4. EE STATES: SOVIET REP SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN SOME DISCUSSION OF POLISH/ GERMAN RELATIONS, ALTHOUGH NOT IN GREAT DETAIL. BREZHNEV TOLD BRANDT THAT GIREK WOULD BE WILLING TO VISIT THE FRG LATER THIS YEAR (SIC-- WARSAW' S 2312 NOTWITHSTANDING), AND HAD SUGGESTED THAT BRANDT MIGHT WISH TO MAKE A RETURN VISIT TO POLAND IN 1974. BRANDT APPARENTLY AGREED. THERE WAS REPORTEDLY LITTLE DISCUSSION OF THE RESTITUTION ISSUE, ALTHOUGH OUR SOURCE INDICATED THAT THE SOVIETS WERE NOT PARTICULARLY SYMPATHETIC TO THE POLES' DEMAND FOR A " MORAL SETTLEMENT". HE THOUGHT THAT IF THE POLES COULD GET SOMETHING ALONG THE LINES OF THE ECONOMIC COOPERATION PROPOSAL MADE BY BRANDT IN YUGOSLAVIA IN APRIL, THE POLES SHOULD BE

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PAGE 02 BONN 07567 02 OF 03 251351 Z

SATISFIED. THERE WAS ALSO DISCUSSION OF FRG- CZECHOSLOVAK RELATIONS. THE SOVIET SIDE WAS ASSUMING THAT ALL PROBLEMS WOULD BE SETTLED SATISFACTORILY BY THE END OF JUNE. THEY WERE SOMEWHAT CONFUSED, HOWEVER, BY INDICATIONS THAT THE GERMANS SEEMED TO BE RETREATING FROM FORMULATIONS AGREED UPON IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS IN PRAGUE. THE SOVIETS WOULD BE LOOKING AT THE SITUATION IN COMING DAYS.

5. UN ENTRY: SOVIET REP SAID THERE HAD BEEN NO DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THIS MATTER DURING THE VISIT, APART FROM THE GENERAL WELCOMING (AS REFLECTED IN THE DECLARATION) OF THE FORTHCOMING ENTRY OF THE TWO GERMAN STATES INTO THE UN. IN HIS OWN DISCUSSIONS WITH MEMBERS OF THE BREZHNEV PARTY, OUR SOURCE SAID IT SEEMED THAT THE SOVIETS FORESAW NO SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH THE ENTRY PROCESS AS LONG AS THE FRG DID NOT OVERDO THE WEST BERLIN REPRESENTATION MATTER. ASKED WHETHER THE SOVIETS INTENDED TO REACT TO THE BKC/ L WHICH THE ALLIES DELIVERED IN EAST BERLIN IN MAY, SOVIET REP SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE SO: SO MUCH TIME HAD GONE BY THAT IT SEEMED TO HIM THAT THE ISSUE WAS NOW DEAD.

6. CSCE: IN DISCUSSING CSCE, SOVIET REP NOTED THAT BREZHNEV HAD PUSHED HARD FOR A SUMMIT MEETING TO CROWN THE THIRD PHASE. ASKED WHY THIS WAS SO IMPORTANT, OUR SOURCE SAID THAT BREZHNEV' S WESTERN POLICY WAS A " GREAT RISK" FOR THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. HE THOUGHT BREZHNEV REQUIRED SOME SIGNIFICANT INTERNATIONAL EVENT IN THE EAST/ WEST CONTEXT TO SHOW TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE AND THE PARTY THAT HIS EFFORTS WERE MEETING WITH SUCCESS. SOVIET REP DWELT AT SOME LENGTH ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LAST PARTY PLENUM IN MOSCOW, AND EMPHASIZED THAT BREZHNEV HAD GONE OUT ON A LIMB IN MANY AREAS OF FOREIGN POLICY AND HENCE HAD TO PRODUCE SOME POSITIVE RESULTS TO SHOW THAT THIS POLICY WAS WORKING.

7. GENERAL COMMENTS: SOVIET REP WAS THE ONLY INTER-PRETER PRESENT AT THE ONE PRIVATE DISCUSSION BETWEEN BRANDT AND BREZHNEV ON SUNDAY MORNING, A MEETING LASTING, ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, ABOUT HALF AN HOUR. HE SAID

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PAGE 03 BONN 07567 02 OF 03 251351 Z

THE TWO HAD DISCUSSED THE EXCHANGE OF PRESENTS, BUT HAD ALSO TOUCHED UPON MBFR AND CSCE. HE STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT IN THIS PRIVATE DISCUSSION NOTHING WAS SAID THAT HAD NOT BEEN SAID IN THE DISCUSSIONS ATTENDED BY OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATIONS. HE ALSO SAID THAT DURING THE ENTIRE VISIT THERE HAD BEEN NO DISCUSSION OF SALT.

8. SOVIET REP SAID HIS EMBASSY' S IMPRESSION OF THE

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PAGE 01 BONN 07567 03 OF 03 251357 Z

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ACTION EUR-10

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S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 07567

LIMDIS NOFORN

VISIT WAS ENTIRELY POSITIVE, ALTHOUGH HE HAD THE FEELING THAT THE WEST GERMANS ASSESSED THE VISIT SOMEWHAT MORE HIGHLY THAN THE USSR. HE THOUGHT THIS NATURAL, HOWEVER, IN LIGHT OF PAST HISTORY. HE ALSO NOTED WHAT WE HAVE HEARD FROM OTHER GERMAN SOURCES, I. E. THAT BREZHNEV TENDED TO AVOID DETAILS AND TO SPEAK IN GRAND TERMS OF EAST/ WEST DETENTE AND OF PEACE. OUR SOURCE COMMENTED THAT WHENEVER BRANDT TRIED TO DISCUSS A SPECIFIC PROBLEM, BREZHNEV WOULD CLAP HIM ON THE BACK AND SUGGEST THAT INSTEAD OF WORRYING ABOUT ALL THE DETAILED PROBLEMS, THE TWO SHOULD RELAX AND HAVE ANOTHER COGNAC. SOVIET REP COMMENTED WRYLY THAT ONE AREA OF DIFFICULTY HAD EMERGED WHEN THE SOVIET SIDE INFORMED THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT THAT BREZHNEV INTENDED TO INVITE THE

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PAGE 02 BONN 07567 03 OF 03 251357 Z

DKP CHAIRMAN AND VICE CHAIRMAN TO THE BREZHNEV DINNER. THIS HAD CAUSED INTERIOR MINISTER GENSCHER (FDP) SERIOUS PROBLEMS, AND HE HAD ONLY AGREED TO ATTEND THE DINNER AFTER BEING ASSURED THAT THE DKP REPS WOULD NOT BE SEATED NEAR HIM. SOVIET REP SAID THE SOVIET SIDE HAD

FOUND THE HOTEL PETERSBERG AN IDEAL SITE FOR BREZHNEV' S

STAY AND WAS PARTICULARLY THANKFUL IT HAD PROVIDED SUCH
GOOD SECURITY.

9. OUR SOURCE ALSO DESCRIBED THE SOVIET FOREIGN- POLICY
APPARATUS ON GERMAN AFFAIRS. HE SAID THAT OF BREZHNEV' S
TWO FOREIGN POLICY AIDES, ALEKSANDROV AND BLATOV, THE
LATTER WAS THE ONE WHO DEALT PRIMARILY WITH GERMANY,
BOTH EAST AND WEST. (BLATOV WAS FORMERLY HEAD OF THE
FONOFF' S THIRD EUROPEAN DIVISION.) ALEKSANDROV WAS MORE
BROAD- GAUGE, HANDLING LARGER EAST/ WEST PROBLEMS. IN THE
FOREIGN MINISTRY' S THIRD EUROPEAN DIVISION, THE CHIEF,
BONDARENKO, DEALS PRIMARILY WITH THE FRG. HIS TWO
ASSISTANTS, KVITSINSKIY AND TOKOVININ, HANDLE THE GDR AND
WEST BERLIN RESPECTIVELY.
HILLENBRAND

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